# UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

*Editors*

John Haynes Holmes  Francis Neilson

## The Psychological Problem of the World

*By* EDMUND HENRY REEMAN

## Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations

*By* AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL

## The Gains of India's Non-Violent-Resistance Struggle

*By* BLANCHE WATSON

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

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# UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XC THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1922 NUMBER 9

## THE SKY-GOER.

**He understood what it is that we are trying to work out.**
**He was very old, and from the secret swing of planets**
**To the secret decencies in human hearts, he understood.**
**I used to watch him watering his lawn, scattering the food**
**for the wood-pecker,**
**Sweeping the crossing before his house. It was not that**
**there was light**
**About him, visible to the eye, as in the old paintings.**
**Rather, an influence came from him in little breaths.**
**When we were with him we became other.**
**He saw us all as if we were that which we dreamed our-**
**selves.**
**He saw the town already clothed on for its Tomorrow,**
**He saw the world, beating like a heart, beating like a heart.**
**"How may I, too, know?" I wanted to cry to him. Instead**
**I only said: "And how is it with you?" But he answered**
**Both questions by the look in his eyes. For he had come**
**to quietness.**
**He had come to the place where sun and moon meet,**
**And where the spaces of the heavens open their doors.**
**He was understanding and love and the silence.**
**He was the voice of these, as he fed the wood-pecker.**

*The World Tomorrow.* —*Zona Gale.*

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UNITY is too cantankerous, say some of our valued readers. It criticizes too much; it seeks out too much evil, and not enough good. Well, we confess that, in the present state of the world and of human society, it is easier to find evil than good, but we doubt if we can be justly accused of deliberately preferring evil to good for comment in these columns. Certainly we do not criticize any more than we acclaim; our blame is well-balanced by our praise. It is true that we took occasion, a fortnight ago, to express our reservations on the encomiums being showered on the bier of the late Lyman Abbott. This was noticed; but did no one notice the chorus of laudation and thanksgiving we lifted only a fortnight earlier for the valiant life of the late William Austin Smith, who was every inch of him a man and a Christian? We know that we have said harsh things about Harding, Hughes, Lodge, et al, but we know also that we have said the best things about La Follette, Borah, et al. If we have denounced the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan, we have defended the Anti-Saloon League, the Non-Partisan League, and the I. W. W.; if we have excoriated the militarists, we have vindicated the pacifists; if we have smitten the imperialism of England and France and the great powers generally, we have blessed the revolutions of Russia, Ireland, Egypt and India. We have our villains—Gary, Clemenceau, Ludendorf; but we also have our heroes —General Smuts, Romain Rolland, Mahatma Gandhi. The trouble is with some of our readers, not that we criticize, but that we criticize what are to them the wrong movements and persons. Describing and denouncing as evil what they regard as good, they accuse us of seeing all things evil and never finding any good. As a matter of fact we have our good as well as anybody, and we praise it and defend it and rejoice in it. But it is *our* good, if you please, and not somebody else's!

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If there is anything more impressive in the world at the present moment than the sweeping power of reaction, we should like to know what it is. In Italy the Fascisti, fittingly clothed in black shirts, as contrasted with the old red shirts of Garibaldi, have simply taken over the government, with scarcely so much as a "by your leave." In Germany, the monarchists are daily gathering strength, and may at any time undertake the overthrow of a government notoriously weak. In Hungary, the cruelest autocracy in Europe sits firmly in the seats of power. In England, the "Die-hard" Tories have overthrown the Coalition and seem at this moment to be certain of winning one of the greatest victories in the history of English politics. In Switzerland, in the local elections, the Socialists and radicals generally have been swept away into ignominious defeat. In Russia, the Right has forced its so-called "new economic policy" upon the nation, and thus triumphed completely over the Left. In Turkey, to be sure, the old regime of the Sultan has been ended by the Angora Nationalists. Jean Longuet, just arrived from France, tells us that Poincaré is by no means so strong as appears at this distance. The recent elections in this country show at least a growing disgust with the old parties, which is a good sign as far as it goes. But he is an optimist, indeed, who can derive must courage from these few scattered signs. What we see generally to-day is a demoralized and exhausted world, bereft of its illusions, shorn of its hope, sinking back into the old familiar habits of an earlier age. It is a repetition of the experience of Europe a hundred years ago when the French Revolution and the era of Napoleon were followed by the epoch of

Metternich. To those who told us so passionately that the Great War was going to bring us a new baptism of liberty and "make the world safe for democracy," we respectfully commend this little lesson of experience.

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We have been greatly amused by the calm and placid way in which the newspapers in this country have taken the recent action of the Fascisti in seizing the Italian government. Here is a full-fledged revolution, not as swift nor as cataclysmic but fully as bloody as most revolutions. The Fascisti have scorned to acknowledge any constitutional methods or processes in taking possession of political authority. They have simply put weapons into the hands of their followers, organized them on a military basis, started them on a march to Rome, the Capital of the Kingdom, and thus by the threat of violence forced the King to consent to an ousting of the government and the placing of power in the hands of Mussolini and his henchmen. This is a revolution much more direct than that achieved, for example, by the Bolsheviki in the chaotic confusion following the dethronement of the Czar and the weakness of the Kerensky ministry. When these Reds in Russia came to the seats of power by a perfectly natural evolution of the revolutionary forces let loose in 1917, our whole Western world fell into a paroxysm of terror. As for the newspapers in this country, they began at once to froth at the mouth in a veritable phobia against these Russian rebels. This mad hatred of the Bolsheviki has continued unremittingly throughout the last four years, and is as furious today as ever. Now, behold exactly the same piece of business, only in much more direct and arbitrary fashion, without any existing chaos to explain or justify it, is pulled off by the Fascisti, and our organs of public opinion take the event as calmly as though it were the same kind of constitutional process which has just been at work in England. It makes a difference, after all, does it not, whose ox is being gored! What is monstrous anarchy in the hands of bloodthirsty savages in Russia, becomes in Italy a rather commendable instance of thorough-going political action. And yet, why should we blame the newspapers? Did not Secretary Hughes, who has steadily refused to deal with the Soviets, recognize the Fascisti cabinet immediately on its accession to power?

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When we published the other day our editorial note on "Fairweather Pacifism," we had no idea that we should so soon have in hand full demonstration of our thesis that the peace professions of the churches, in time of peace, are only so much pious fraud. The Turkish upset in the Near East, however, brought us all the evidence we needed. When diplomats were struggling feverishly to maintain peace, when soldiers were showing unexampled moderation and patience, when newspapers were denouncing hostilities, and labor rebelling openly against them, it was left for the religious forces of the world to lift up their voices for war. Bishops, missionaries, church conferences, ministerial associations, religious newspapers, with few exceptions joined the chorus. If organized Christianity had had its way, we would even now be in the midst of another universal war. As a particularly delicious instance of what we mean by "fairweather pacifism," we venture to present herewith a deadly parallel from a familiar contemporary:

*The Christian Register,* July 6, 1922, page 630, when nothing particular was doing:

"Only the conviction that 'war is sin' will end war. By all the power of repetition let us say that; let us make it antiphonal in our churches, our slogan on the street, our brooding and our prayer in quietude. Let the thing grip us and hold us to the end."

*The Christian Register,* September 21, 1922, page 894, when the Turkish crisis was upon us, and the policy of Lloyd-George seemed about to precipitate another European war:

"America has come to the parting of the ways. . . . We are probably on the threshold of a real war of the world, a war, at last, between Occident and Orient. The theatre of the Aegean is itself a symbol of the cosmic character of the possible engagement. Precisely as the Great War ended our isolation . . . so we now learn with a shock that our own safety and permanence depend upon our taking all the risks of living dangerously. . . . We cannot be neutral in such an hour. . . . It is unnecessary to recite the part we played in the Great War. . . . The present menace is greater than the recent war in all respects. It is a real world crisis. We cannot turn back."

---

With the opinions and teachings of the late Father Bernard Vaughan, dead in London on October 31st last, we had little agreement. This distinguished Jesuit was a bitter opponent of Socialism. He fought woman suffrage persistently. He denounced the movement for birth control. He supported the Great War with a nationalistic passion which stirred the indig-

nant protests of his brother Jesuits in Germany. But for all this there were few figures in the modern religious world for whom we had greater reverence than for this eloquent Catholic priest. He was first and foremost a man of profound ethical and spiritual conviction. He believed certain things with all his mind and heart and soul and strength, and spoke them with a directness and courage that carried his name around the world. Especially was he sensitive to the corroding materialism of the age, and that lowering of moral standards which has for years been everywhere prevalent. He scourged women for their indecent dress, men for their libertinism, the theatre for its corruption, society for its vile habits of drink, debauchery and general looseness. Like a prophet of the older time, he called down the wrath of God upon a people which knew not His law, or, knowing it, defied it wantonly. We know of no greater tribute ever paid to any modern religious leader than that paid to Father Vaughan by a popular dancer in London. This woman so won the admiration of King Edward VII on a certain occasion, that he summoned her to his box, and asked if there was anything that he could offer to show his appreciation. Instantly the dancer replied: "Your Majesty, the head of Bernard Vaughan on a dish."

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Still they come—the utterances of the prophetic spirits who denounce denominationalism and plead for church unity! And still the denominations go fussily on their way, as though nobody had ever dreamed of such a thing as that it might be a good thing, indeed a necessary thing, for the churches to get together. What is worse—the men themselves who advocate the ending of denominationalism do absolutely nothing to carry their convictions into effect. They keep their churches inside denominational lines, function as leaders in denominational boards and committees and conferences, and raise money persistently for the advancement of denominational causes. The latest plea for a united church, which we have seen, comes from Dr. Nehemiah Boynton:

> "Denominationalism," said this distinguished preacher on October 29th last, "is a thing of yesterday. It is divisive and therefore hinders the church in speaking in one clear tone for the movement for the consolidation and the reunion of Christendom. The church will have the largest influence in the world when it can work and speak as a unit, not as a fraction."

This is well said—but when is the saying going to be carried over into the doing? When is Dr. Boynton going to start the work of merging Congregationalism and Unitarianism, for example; or, more specifically, when is he going to urge some one Congregational church to lose its identity for the sake of some one common expression of community religion? Is the day ever coming when a great church leader will rise up among his fellows, and say, "Brethren, I move that we go out of business as a sect"? Probably about the time that some government solemnly passes a statute of disarmament, and strips itself bare of offensive and defensive weapons! In both cases, we expect to see the real movement coming from the bottom, among the people, and not from the top.

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Discussion of the problem of church unity raises again the old question as to why the denominations do not succeed in getting together. Loyalty to the past, of course, has something to do with it. Differences of theological opinion and modes of worship are of course an element in the situation. Pride, habit, familiarities all play their more or less important parts. Nor must we forget the ceaseless zeal of denominational officials whose business it is to keep their own religious body safely apart from all other bodies. But these influences, we believe, would all yield to the overpowering tendency of the times toward unification, were it not for the fact that there is missing a basis of reunion, a center of reintegration. Churches have tried again and again to get together by some process of compromise and adjustment. Creeds, rituals, ecclesiastical names and symbols, have all been cast into the melting-pot, that some common blending of elements might be secured. But the method has not worked. No new combining element has been found to take the place of the old divisive elements. No single platform has been laid hold on as a substitute for the traditional platforms of sectarian separatism. Every church union movement ever attempted has sooner or later found itself up in the air, with no firm ground beneath its feet. Now it is because the community church movement for the first time supplies this all-essential unit or center of integration, that we recognize in this movement the first effective agency for church union that has ever been devised. At last we have something on which to stand, around which to organize! For in place of the old creeds and ecclesiasticisms which formerly held men together, this movement offers not a modification or adjustment of the old, but a wholly new principle of combination—namely, *the community*. And this principle, *by its very nature*, is inclusive and not exclusive! With the advent of the community church, we may say that the movement toward religious unity has found itself. We have a program, now, that works.

# The Psychological Problem of the World

In its deeper aspects the modern world problem is essentially psychological in character and any attempt to grapple with its practical aspects must, if it is to be successful, take into account the psychological motives and ideas that influence the activities of mankind. That man is a thinking animal has long been accepted as his chief claim to superiority in the world of sentient life, and yet how little do the majority of us know to this day of the mind we think with, of the way in which that mind has developed, or of the factors by which it is influenced. This is particularly true, perhaps, in regard to what we are now learning to call the social psychology of mankind.

Old fashioned religionists used to make a great deal of what they called the necessity for a change of heart on the part of individual men and women as essential to their salvation. Even more important to the social salvation of mankind today is the necessity for a radical change of mind and for a better understanding of the psychological forces that act upon the course of human destiny. The time, I believe, has come for man to deliberately take hold of the world and nature and fashion both to the necessities of his own developing life. In the realm of physical attainment man has already done much in this direction. What man now needs to recognize is that the psychological forces of social life and well-being are just as much within reach of his mastery as are the elements with which he deals in spanning the continents and sailing the seas and tapping and utilizing the invisible forces of the air. To the mastery of matter, indeed, must be added the mastery of mind, or man's whole past becomes a mockery and the whole structure of our civilization but a flimsy shadow upon a painted canvas. Amid all the vast achievements of mankind in the physical world and amid all the promise of yet vaster achievements that are inherent in our present life, the one really depressing and deplorable fact is the utter planlessness of human social life and the failure of mankind to work out for itself rational ways of living. Humiliating as the confession may be, it can hardly be questioned that the progress of human intelligence as an applied force in the affairs of the world has fallen sadly short of the enormous strides that have been made in every department of the practical activity of life.

We have brought industry and commerce to an amazing point of development in everything that makes for the utilization of the world's economic resources and that provides for the material needs of mankind, but we have not yet learned how to bring into mutual harmony with the human and social interests of men's lives the necessities of our machinery of economic production and distribution. We have made a science of warfare and its machinery of destruction, but we have not yet learned how to think our way through the tangled interests of rival national patriotisms and conflicting racial jealousies to any clear and compelling principle of international action. We have evolved political systems of surprising intricacy and ingeniousness, but we have not yet learned how to develop a statesmanship equal to the task of reconciling human differences and legislating for the common welfare of mankind.

So far, indeed, we have shown but little disposition even to attempt to grapple with the task which the major problems of human life on earth present. The world over we are still thinking in the terms of the glory of our separate nationalities to the utter neglect of what is plainly the paramount concern of mankind throughout the world—the good of all mankind. Is it too much to say that if the mental and moral progress of mankind had kept any sort of pace with the material achievements of the last century alone not only would the present world chaos be unthinkable, but already there would be possible on earth such a life for mankind as has so far only been dreamed of by prophets and seers? That man has not yet learned to apply his capacity for intelligent and constructive thinking to the great demands of human moral purpose and social living is perhaps mainly due to his failure to appreciate the psychological character of the world problem and to his general ignorance concerning his own mind and the forces that act upon and influence it.

Our whole modern idea of education is based upon the recognition of an infinite capacity in the human mind for mental progress and intellectual development, and yet the singular thing is that almost every system of practical education among us is primarily directed to those immediate ends of material advance in which man's abilities are already most completely demonstrated, to the almost total exclusion of those departments of social activity, relationship, and mutual interest in the life of the world in which our human attainments are so sadly deficient and inadequate. So saturated is our life with the spirit of our prevailing material commercialism that for a thousand schools for salesmanship we do not have so much as a single school for statesmanship. While when it comes to definite moral training in the arts of living the pitiful efforts of our churches to fill an unfilled need are a pathetic pedagogic parody as compared with the efficiency we spare no pains to develop in every branch of vocational training.

The fact about the whole matter, in short, seems to be that we are thinking about everything except the most crucial and fundamental of our problems and

are building up a vast structure of social organization without any adequate sense of social purpose or any clear understanding of the necessities and requirements of social relationship. Yet it is evident that the world cannot forever muddle along in its present state of intellectual confusion regarding the major problems of its life and there is imminent danger of this great structure of civilization which men have built up collapsing under its own weight unless we can get down to some of the psychological realities of life and learn to apply the powers of intelligent human control to the developments of material human progress. Here, then, is an angle of the world problem that concerns us all. For there is no such thing as an abstract intelligence that can solve our problems for us. The only intelligence that can be applied to present problems is the intelligence of which you and I, my readers, and the multitude of our fellow human creatures, are capable. It is in our minds and in our minds alone that the capacity for new and creative thinking must be developed. Human life in this world can only be improved and human social conditions only bettered by human effort intelligently applied and directed. Nor can we too strongly emphasize the importance of this intelligent direction and this power of constructive thought in any effort to improve the world. For as Mr. John Dewey points out in his recent book on "Human Nature and Conduct," while a social revolution may effect abrupt and deep alterations in external customs, in legal and political institutions, yet actual social change is never so great as is *apparent* change, and wherever general and enduring moral changes do accompany an external revolution it is because appropriate habits of thought have previously been insensibly matured.

Geographical realities and economic necessities have indeed conditioned the life of man on earth, but they have not been the sole determinant of the course of his history. Out of the very conditions they have created there have grown up powerful influences of an entirely different character that have exerted their own powerful sway in human affairs. Out of the dangers of his early life there have grown fears that long after the actual dangers have past have remained to exert their sway in man's life. Out of physical and economic limitations there have developed concepts of the mind to trail and dog the march of progress long after the limitations themselves have been outgrown.

A forward looking statesman earnestly seeking to come to grips with the world problem today would find himself confronted not alone by the stern fact of economic necessities and the unalterable facts of geographical reality but by a vast impedimenta of psychological impulses and engrained habits of mind blocking the way to any rational attempt to deal with economic necessities in accordance with geographical reality and human need.

I insist the more strongly upon what I call this psychological aspect of the world problem because it does seem to me that a change of thought and feeling on the part of men about themselves and their human powers, about their relationships with one another, and about the world in which they live and the possibilities that are inherent in it, is absolutely essential if any way out of the present intolerable confusion of human affairs is to be come at.

It surely does make all the difference whether there is enough bread and butter in the house to feed all the family, and you can't get far unless the bread and butter is there. But given the bread and butter, the spirit of the family around the table becomes in turn a matter of vital importance, and it makes all the difference whether Johnny or Jane, or father or mother, are selfishly disposed each to grab the best buttered bits of bread for themselves and leave only the crusts for the rest. As it makes all the difference also in what mood and in what kind of spirit means are taken to replenish the larder. Whether father earns the bread by honest, manly toil, or sits home with his feet on the mantel and his pipe in his mouth while mother earns it by sweating over a wash-tub, or Johnny earns it by peddling papers on the street, or Jane earns it by wrapping packages behind a five and ten cent counter—all these are considerations no less important, after all, than the presence of the bread and butter in the house itself.

It seems to me, we have got to learn to approach this world problem as a psychological one, for entwined with all our geographical realities and all our economic necessities are psychological influences of the gravest weight and importance. Ideas of gods and devils, ideas of good and evil, ideas of right and wrong, ideas of man himself and of other men akin to, if not exactly like, him in texture and color of skin, ideas of property and proprietary rights, ideas of honor and pride and a tangle of conflicting earthly patriotisms—all these are part of the history of man and are no less vitally related to the problems we face today than the facts of the earth's uneven fertility and the relentless drive of economic necessity. Somehow we have got to find a new view-point from which to approach what we call the practical problems of life, as somehow also we have got to develop within ourselves the capacity for new modes of creative thinking that go infinitely beyond the world's older habits of mind.

For not only is the world problem largely a psychological problem, but by that very sign the world's task is largely a psychological task. Out of what materials of thought we can command and with what machinery of mind we are now equipped, and against all the dead inertia of intellectual lag in human affairs and the fearful impedimenta of custom and habit, we

have to forge new ways of thinking or mankind will never find the path to new ways of living.

Perhaps the first and greatest necessity of our life today is the necessity for conceiving the world aright. And for most, if not for all, of us that means conceiving the world anew. For it is no small part of our present difficulty that for centuries men have been swayed not only by false views of life, but that every possibility of genuine human advance has been hampered and impeded by equally false views of the world in which we live. Only now, indeed, is it becoming possible for us to conceive the world aright and to appreciate the place of man in this great scheme of life and things that the earth comprises—this, thanks to the achievements of a fearless physical science.

No wonder the world is awry, when for centuries multitudes of mankind even in the most forward looking nations have been taught to think of this world as a hapless vale of tears; as a faint shadow of the real world of life; as the place of a brief and transitory travail; as a mere ante-room of heaven or hell hereafter; and, most damnable of all, perhaps, as the sin-stained object of a jealous and vindictive god's wrath. To this very day may be counted by number those who dare affirm as I now affirm that this world is man's own rightful kingdom—the place of realization for all that is in him of high hope or of lofty purpose—the place neither for dreamy contemplation nor for patient waiting for a fairer realm to come, but the place for vital creative action and fearless and heroic daring—MAN'S OWN KINGDOM, TO MAKE IT WHAT HE WILL.

To this very day, legion are they who would pin their faith to the decalog of ten ancient commandments, derived from the struggles of a group of Semitic tribes in their passage from semi-barbarism to national consciousness—and pin their faith to this decalog as the infallible edict of a supernatural and an omnipotent authority; while few indeed are they who dare pin their faith to man's own human capacity to work out for himself a morality and an ethics adequate to the vast changes in our social life that have followed upon the world's greatest revolution—the industrial revolution of modern times.

EDMUND HENRY REEMAN.

# The Joy of Life

XIV.

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be,
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.

The pragmatic test of freedom demands productivity. Mere liberation from the fetters of superstition and institutional dogma avails but little unless the individual thus liberated finds in his new psychic environs principles which foster nobility of character. License is freedom, but in this type of freedom there is nothing constructive. The old barriers of discipline and restraint are removed, and the individual is left gloriously free. He revels in an unchecked gratification of his own innate impulses, he scoffs at those bound by conventionalities and ethical tenets, he delights in shocking society.

Four years ago a certain young man entered one of our American colleges. He was bubbling over with enthusiasm and an ardent passion to educate society to an appreciation of his particular brand of philosophy which at that time consisted of a firm belief in an anthropomorphic God, in the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, the virgin birth and bodily resurrection of Jesus, the divine creation of the universe for the sole benefit of mankind, and the existence of certain God-given ethical laws which, if carefully followed, would guide all men through this worldly antechamber into the eternal bliss of a celestial heaven. At college he studied faithfully with the result that at the end of the allotted four years his professors had succeeded in disillusioning his mind from all of these early naive conceptions which he had so vigorously embraced, and he was graduated to enter upon his life career—a liberated soul. All the old fetters of religious dogma had been severed. He had discovered that the ultimate objective of life is unknown, that all truth is relative, and that the ability of man to perpetuate his existence upon this planet is questionable. All his old idols were broken, his old fears dissipated—there was nothing left of an external nature to control his conduct. And they called him educated. The young man stepped out into life a flaming Bohemian. He laughed at marriage, he scoffed at honesty, he ridiculed devotion to high ideals. Life for him was absolute license, interpreted in terms of freedom, and its chief objective was to gain as much pleasure as possible before the curtain fell.

If such an education is to be characterized by the word "liberal," then another adjective must be found to designate that constructive type of school which not only empties the youth's mind of the muddy wine of traditional dogmas and superstitions, but which pours into that mind the new wine of a life philosophy adequate to create nobility of character. We need in education what we might well term productive freedom. Better a conservative, enmeshed in all the traditions of the past, than a libertine emancipated to the extent that he has lost his sense of continuity with the social order. Whatever disinterested metaphysical speculation may cause one to doubt regarding cosmic processes, the present existence of the human race upon this speck of star dust is a reality beyond dispute, and in the relationship which each individual holds in this social whole there are to be found ethical principles which offer a sufficient guide to conduct. Only he who has divorced himself from the unity of the world brotherhood can sever freedom from produc-

tivity, can find liberty analogous to license, for in the oneness of our common human existence there is a life greater than our individual selves, the future welfare of which demands our best contributions. To suffer, to forgive, to defy, to hope and bear and love in order that the human race as a social unit may find the joy and beauty in life for which it yearns will bring freedom to the contributor, but it will be a productive freedom guided by such ethical principles as lead to true nobility of character.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

# The Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations

Negroes have lived in Chicago since its founding. In fact, the first settler, in 1778, was a Negro, Jean Baptiste Point de Saible. There were Negro property owners at the time of the city's incorporation in 1837.

So states the recently published Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations,* a commission of twelve members, six representing the white people and six representing the Negro people, appointed by Governor Frank O. Lowden after the Chicago Race Riot of 1919.

On Sunday afternoon, July 27, 1919, a clash between whites and Negroes at a bathing beach on the shore of Lake Michigan, which involved much stone throwing and resulted in the drowning of a seventeen-year-old Negro boy, was the beginning of a race riot which lasted in all over a period of thirteen days, seven days of which witnessed actual rioting. During that period four groups of peace guardians attempted to handle the situation: (1) the police, (2) the militia, (3) the deputy sheriffs and (4) a large body of Negro ex-soldiers. The total casualty list of the riot showed 38 deaths,—15 white and 23 Negroes; 537 injured, 178 white and 342 Negroes, with 17 whose race was unrecorded.

Appointed at the request of many citizens and civic organizations who regarded the riot as "merely a symptom of serious and profound disorders lying beneath the surface of race relations in Chicago," Governor Lowden's Commission set itself to the "study and interpretation of the conditions of Negro life in Chicago and of the relations between the two races." It organized itself into six committees on the following subjects: Racial Clashes, Housing, Industry, Crime, Racial Contacts and Public Opinion. In these fields the Commission's work was done along two main lines: (1) A series of conferences at which persons believed to have special information and experience relating to these subjects were invited to give the Commission the benefit of their knowledge and opinions. (2) Research and field work by a trained staff of investigators, both white and Negro, to determine as accurately as possible, from first-hand evidence, the actual conditions in these particular fields.

## RACIAL CLASHES

Twice in recent years the State of Illinois had been disgraced by violent and furious racial rioting: at Springfield in 1908 and in East St. Louis in 1917. While there had been great loss of life and property in both instances, neither one had reached such proportions of frenzy as characterized the Chicago Riot of 1919.

To understand the situation at the time one must study the statistics of the Negro population of Chicago. The Census figures show that the Negro population of the city was 109,594 in 1920, an increase of 44,103, or 148.5 percent, over the figures for 1910. Most of this increase came in the years from 1916 to 1919 and was a result of the unprecedented migration of Negroes from the South to the North during those years. The widening of industrial opportunities in the North during the period of the war and the resultant demand for laborers at much higher wages than the Negroes had been able to earn in the South, explain in part that great migration. Too, the Negroes saw here an opportunity to escape from the life of discrimination and injustice and oppression which was their lot in the South.

Chicago, then, was confronted with the problem of housing this vast increase in her Negro population. Since practically no building had been done during the war period, it was inevitable that the new-comers should fill up and over-run the usual areas of Negro residence. Soon they began to invade the districts regarded as "white" areas; and such invasion met with the organized resistance of white dwellers in those areas. One form of this organized resistance to the coming of Negroes into new neighborhoods was the bombing of their homes. From July 1, 1917, to March 1, 1921, there were fifty-eight such bombings, in which two Negroes were killed, a number of both races injured, and property damaged to the amount of more than $100,000. Though appeal was made to both local and state authorities, nothing was done officially about the matter.

Chicago, as many another community, has given little thought to the problem of decent housing or wholesome environment for her black citizens. Instead, she has contented herself, also like many another community, with herding her Negroes in congested, insanitary, unwholesome, undesirable areas. The Commission found that "vice districts and Negro residence districts are now and have long been close together." This proximity is "not due to their (the Negroes') choice nor to low moral standards, but to three causes: (1) Negroes are unwelcome in desirable white residence localities; (2) small incomes compel them to live in the least expensive places regardless of surroundings; . . . and (3) Negroes lack sufficient influence and power to protest effectively against the encroachments of vice." (The Report of the Chicago Vice Commission of 1911 stated that at the time the segregated vice districts of the city were broken up, prostitutes were promised immunity by the police if they would confine themselves to a certain area in which Negro residences, churches and business houses predominated.)

## INDUSTRY

The rapid increase in Chicago's Negro population during the period of the war came mainly in response to the unusual demand for labor. Shortage of labor due to war conditions created many openings for the

*The Negro in Chicago. A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot. By the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. The University of Chicago Press.

Negro. Whereas prior to that time Negroes had been virtually limited to domestic and personal service, now they began to enter the industries in large numbers. How did they fare in this new field? In order to answer this question, the Commission studied 62 industrial plants employing 10,587 Negroes. It found that employers were in the main satisfied with Negro labor; that the attitude of the white workers towards the Negro workers was from the beginning quite apt to be but a reflection of the attitude of the management; that through working together friendliness between white and Negro workers had been increased.

Considering the question of organized labor and the Negro worker, the Commission finds that "there are many cross currents at work, some tending to keep Negroes out of Unions and others impelling them toward the Unions." On the basis of policy toward the Negro worker, Unions may be divided into four classes: (1) Unions admitting Negroes to white locals, (2) Unions admitting Negroes to separate coordinate locals, (3) Unions admitting Negroes to subordinate or auxiliary locals, and (4) Unions excluding Negroes from membership. It is found that where the Negro workers are admitted on an equal basis and given a square deal the feeling inside the Union is nearly always harmonious. It is seen also that there is great opposition on the part of Negro workers to the separate locals as well as to the subordinate or auxiliary locals; since both are taken for just what in fact they are: Jim Crow institutions. Those groups of organized labor which positively exclude Negroes from membership in the Unions may thank themselves in the main for those cases in which Negroes have appeared as strike breakers. Denied membership in these Unions, the Negro workers "often find that their first opportunity in a new industry comes through the eagerness of a strike-bound employer to utilize their labor at wages more than they have previously earned" and in lines of work which have hitherto been closed to them by the organized Unions of those very striking workers whose places they are thus able to fill.

Labor leaders emphasize the influence of contact in Union meetings in promulgating a friendly understanding between white and colored members. They point out the fact that the Negro ceases to be a stranger or an object of prejudice when once he has identified himself with the Union. A common interest in common problems binds the members together and a spirit of loyalty to the Union develops in the effort to realize the aims of the group.

### Crime

The Commission found itself handicapped in its attempt to study the relation of the Negro to crime because of:

1. The unreliability of police records.

2. The prevalent prejudiced impression regarding Negro crime.

3. The disposition of the police authorities, conscious or unconscious, to arrest Negroes more freely than whites, to book them on more serious charges, to convict them more readily, and to give them longer sentences.

Nevertheless two important facts were apparent from the Commission's study:

1. The danger inherent in the vicious environment in which Negroes are forced to live.

2. The misrepresentative character of the statistics of Negro crime.

### Racial Contacts

In its study of Racial Contacts the Commission investigated public schools, recreational centers, public places of business and transportation facilities; as well as those cases of "cultural contacts" on purely intellectual basis such as institutions of higher learning, general cultural agencies and co-operative efforts for race betterment. In all of these the Commission finds that the attitude of the group is quite likely to be the attitude of those persons who occupy official position and hence exercise authority; in the public schools, the attitude of the principals and teachers; in the recreational centers, the attitude of the leaders or directors; in places of business, the attitude of the owners or managers.

### Public Opinion

An important phase of the Commission's work was its consideration of the place of Public Opinion in race relations and of those factors which serve as instruments of opinion-making: the press, rumor, myths and propaganda. Considering the press the most important of these instruments, the Commission made a study of the three principal white dailies and of the three leading Negro weekly papers published in Chicago. (There are no Negro daily papers published there.) From the study of the white press it is clear that "the policies of many newspapers on racial matters have made relations more difficult, at times fostering new antagonisms and even precipitating riots by inflaming the white public against Negroes." A study of the Negro press reveals the fact that "their news items showed bias in reporting just the reverse of that which characterizes the reports of many white papers. They emphasize the Negro's view and may be said to provide a compensatory interpretation of the news."

### Recommendations

The Commission finds no ready remedy, no panacea for settling the race problem. It holds that "mutual understanding and sympathy between the races will be followed by harmony and co-operation. But these can come completely only after the disappearance of prejudice. Thus the remedy is necessarily slow; and it is all the more important that the civic conscience of the community should be aroused." The Commission holds that "our race problem must be solved in harmony with the fundamental law of the nation and with its free institutions."

The Commission closes its Report with a series of fifty-nine recommendations:

(a) To the Police, Militia, State's Attorney and Courts,—suggesting equal protection and full justice for whites and blacks alike.

(b) To the City Council and Administrative Boards, the Park Boards and the Municipal Bureau of Parks, Play Grounds and Bathing Beaches,—suggesting proper housing and sanitation and the full provision and equal use of recreational centers alike for blacks and whites.

(c) To the Board of Education,—asking for adequate school facilities and full use of same by whites and blacks alike; the strict enforcement of the compulsory education laws for all children; the exercise of special care in appointing principals and teachers who have a sympathetic and intelligent interest in promoting good race relations in the schools and who will encourage "participation of both races in student ac-

tivities as a means of promoting mutual understanding and good relations in such schools and in the community."

(d) To Social and Civic Organizations, Labor Unions and Churches,—advising that they endeavor "to dispel the false notions of each race about the other and promote mutual tolerance and friendliness between them."

(e) To the Public,—urging abstinence from force or violence in race relations; commending "race contacts in cultural and co-operative efforts as tending strongly to mutual understanding and the promotion of good race relations"; and suggesting a permanent race-relations body representing both races.

(f) To Employers and Labor Organizations,—urging that employers "deal with Negroes as workmen on the same plane as white workers" and that labor Unions "admit Negroes to full membership whenever they apply for it and possess the qualifications required of white workers."

(g) To Negro Workers,—advising membership in Unions which admit both races equally rather than in separate Negro labor Unions; and urging thorough preparation for participation in skilled trades.

(h) To Street Car Companies,—urging that conductors and motormen be especially instructed concerning protection of passengers, white and Negro, and that they be rigidly held to the discharge of this duty.

(i) To Restaurants, Theaters, Stores and Other Places of Public Accommodation,—urging that owners, managers and employees accord the same treatment to Negro patrons as to white patrons.

(j) To the Press,—urging the publication of such news and in such form as will tend to dispel prejudice and promote mutual respect and good-will between the two races.

* * *

The Commission wisely recommends the proper establishment of recreational centers and other institutions where friendly and wholesome contact between whites and Negroes will be assured. No better method can be found for the establishment of mutual understanding and mutual respect between the two races. Little has been done thus far in that direction and the fault lies partly with the one group and partly with the other. Certainly our segregated, separate Jim Crow institutions "for colored people"—"colored" churches, "colored" schools, "colored" Y. M. C. A.'s, "colored" Y. W. C. A.'s, "colored" social settlements and all such like—whether separate by compulsion or by choice, are but a miserable make-shift. To the surface observer they may seem to solve the problem. In truth they do no such thing. As a matter of fact they prove a stumbling block in the way of even our best efforts to establish perfect justice for the Negro. So long as Negroes are compelled, whether by custom or by law, to confine themselves to these Jim Crow institutions just so long will the whole race be regarded *en masse* as an inferior group.

The Commission recommends to the Negro members of the public "the promulgation of sound racial doctrines,"—and by that no doubt it means "Negro racial doctrines." At the same time, while it recognizes "the propriety and social values of race pride among Negroes," the Commission warns them (the Negroes) "that thinking and talking too much in terms of race alone are calculated to promote separation of race interests and thereby to interfere with racial adjustment." And there indeed appears the fallacy which has characterized in large part our whole treatment of the Negro question in America. With our insistent emphasis upon race traits and race distinctions we have built up that curious but perfectly logical psychology which underlies our much-cherished but none the less disgraceful and now scientifically discredited theory of superiority and inferiority as applied to the white and the Negro elements of our population. The quicker that psychology is discarded the better!

It is worth noting that this valuable report is the work not so much of the Commission itself as of the staff of trained investigators, recruited "from social workers of both races whose training and experience had fitted them for intelligent and sympathetic handling of research and field work along the lines mapped out by the Commission." Never before has the Negro problem in America had the joint attention of so significant a group of well-trained and serious-minded young people of the two races. That indeed indicates the only course worth following. The Negro problem is simply the problem of how blacks and whites shall live together on terms of mutual respect and on the basis of human brotherhood; and it cannot be settled either by a segregated group of whites or by a segregated group of blacks.

This report is a valuable addition to our all too meagre worth-while literature on the question of race relations. While every single one of its pages should bring shame to every citizen of this country, nevertheless it deserves a wide reading. Its fifty-two-page account of the Chicago Riot is the first trustworthy account we have had of that season of blood. Certainly the newspaper accounts, at the time and since, were far from accurate. If these fifty-two pages and the fifty-seven pages which contain the Summary and Recommendations could be published together in pamphlet form and distributed generously to public officials and private citizens, to schools and colleges and libraries throughout this country, it is quite likely that there would be such an improvement in race relations as to make another such racial clash quite improbable,—maybe impossible.

Valuable as is this report, it is nevertheless a shame and a disgrace that in this twentieth century and in this so-called civilized land such a report is either necessary or possible.

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL.

## RHYMES FOR THE ROAD.

### DUTY

When Duty comes a-knocking at your gate,
Welcome him in: for if you bid him wait,
He will depart only to come once more
And bring seven other duties to your door.

*Nautilus.*

### NOBLE VENGEANCE

The great souls never seek revenge but live
To sweeten life, to give and to forgive:
Behold, too, how the camphor trees impart
To the biting ax the fragrance of their heart.

—*Edwin Markham.*

# The Gains of India's Non-Violent-Resistance Struggle

Passive resistance has come to stay. Thank God for that —it is the herald of world peace.

—*M. K. Gandhi.*

Organized non-co-operation with the ruling government, that is to say, non-violent resistance, is entering on its third year in India. When the All-India Congress meets the last week of December the delegates will decide whether or not the Gandhi program is to be continued as the basis of the nationalist struggle for the freedom of more than 300 million souls. The details of this program are too well known now to need enumeration; suffice it to say that it is predicated on the ancient doctrine of Ahimsa, which in its negative sense means not injuring any living being whether by body or mind—while in its positive sense, it carries the implication of the larger love, the greatest charity. A strange basis for a national revolutionary movement, it will be said. Strange to the Westerner, yes, but not to the Indians who have accepted the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi—the apostle of Truth—who is their friend, their spiritual *guru,* as well as their political counsellor and guide.

Had the Mahatma been less powerful, had he had different human material to work with, had circumstances conspired against rather than for him, the non-co-operation movement would be today what its critics declare it to be—a failure. As it is, peculiar economic conditions that exist nowhere else in the world, the power of what Indians believe to be a divinely-led personality, and a group numerically strong and spiritually ready for that leadership, have combined to bring about a measure of success of which the Western world is sadly misinformed.

Before the gains of this unique struggle are set down it is important that the reader get firmly in mind three things—first, that a whole-hearted acceptance of the Gandhi program of non-violent resistance presupposes either one of two things, or both. It requires a considerable measure of spiritual humility, or it demands centuries of pacifist heredity—so that faith in non-violence shall be ingrained. The Mohammedans, it would seem, have the first—the Hindus certainly have the last, always taking into account the exceptions that prove the rule; and Hindus and Mohammedans together make up more than seven-eighths of the population of India. Secondly, it must be understood that this whole-hearted acceptance means turning a deaf ear to those "false guides"—to use the words of a Mohammedan journalist—whose advice tends toward co-operation with the farcial reform Councils on the one hand, or to the use of violence on the other. And thirdly, it must be realized that Gandhi, though confined behind prison bars, is nevertheless present in a very real sense to an overwhelming proportion of the Indian people today.

* * *

This greatly diversified population—of many castes, tongues and creeds—have realized (and this brings me to the first of the admitted successes of the non-co-operation movement) that under the leadership of this man they have acquired a self-discipline and a widespread national purification that are strong factors for bringing about ultimate victory. Drug-taking has been greatly reduced, and unprecedented gains in prohibition are admitted, as a letter from "Pussy-foot" Johnson to Gandhi, published not long ago in UNITY, abundantly testifies. That Dr. Johnson is not wholly in sympathy with the Indian revolutionary leader only makes his letter the more valuable as evidence on this score. We have further evidence in the falling off in internal revenues of about $75,000,000. The national self-discipline is shown beyond any question of doubt by the "unbroken general atmosphere of peace and non-violence" that has obtained ever since the arrest of the Mahatma. I quote from the words of a prominent Indian, writing in *Young India* (Gandhi's little paper) who says:

> I consider this to be our greatest triumph; but the Government and the Moderates have attributed it to the collapse of the whole movement. They are hard to please. According to them if there is the least outburst of violence non-co-operation has failed. If there is no disturbance at all, it has equally failed.

Only three years ago Gandhi was arrested, and India was set aflame, a fact, doubtless, which dictated his immediate release. The sentence of six years' imprisonment for this venerated leader of insurgent India was an unintentional governmental tribute to the success which had attended his efforts to make his countrymen non-violent.

If a non-violent atmosphere was required for success, religious unity in a country like India was a prime necessity. The reconciling of the Hindus and the Mohammedans was perhaps Gandhi's greatest sin in the eyes of the ruling group there—certainly it may be said to be his most far-reaching achievement. It must be admitted that there has been always a strong fundamental spiritual unity between these two great religious groups, which made Gandhi's success possible. This, and the recognition (forced upon the Indians by a long record of governmental bad faith) that they had been played—one against the other—by their alien rulers, conspired to bring about a large measure of friendliness which has considerably upset the nerves of the bureaucracy. Prominent among the spiritual gains of this peaceful warfare is the fact that jail-life which was formerly so terrifying to the people, has become exactly the reverse, so that men go "joyfully to the prison-cell"—to quote the words of Gandhi himself—"followed by the 'God-speed' of their relatives and friends." The result of this changed attitude is that today more than thirty thousand of the best and finest of India's manhood are behind prison bars.

But the spiritual gains are not all. There are certain recognized material gains, and first and foremost among these must be noted the practical reversal of the treaty of Sèvres—called by many the greatest diplomatic victory of this period. To Gandhi be the credit of this, say the Indians.[1] Then the nullification (actual if not technical) of the much-hated and resisted Rowlatt Act must be set down. Again, the visit of the Prince of Wales, ordered by well-nigh

[1]Since this article was written the victories of Kemal Pasha in the Near East have completed the demolition of this unjust pact.

distracted politicians, was a complete and admitted failure. If anything could have added to the prestige of India's wise leader this would have done it, and the completeness of the boycott of the really likable prince must be reckoned as one of the gains of non-co-operation. Perhaps the greatest material gain, however, lies in the complete breakdown of the administrative machinery of government as shown by the shocking repressive activity of the ruling group—not only in the number of the arrests, but in the treatment of the Non-co-operators both within and without the jail. It is interesting to recall in this connection what Ramsay Macdonald says of repression, which he calls "the last chapter in the history of bureaucracies." "They pass away (he says) like an old monarch from his throne hurling accusations of sedition against his approaching successor."

* * *

It must be borne in mind in estimating the gains of this movement, with the negative name which its character and particularly its results, belie, that (as the Indians put it) it is political *cum* industrial. Before the political breakdown came an economic breakdown due to the boycott of English-made cloth—which boycott, be it said, is the crux of non-violent resistance. Gandhi has accepted the dictum, "Cloth is King," but he says that India shall make her own cloth. England lost the sum of about 200 million dollars last year in the sale of this commodity alone. The *charkha* (spinning wheel) is the power behind Gandhi today. Lancashire, 7,000 miles away, has felt the results of the boycott of English cloth, and the floor of Parliament has rung with denunciations of it. Against it is directed practically all the adverse criticism of the non-co-operation program; and it is the stumbling-block of those who cannot quite see their way clear to accept the Gandhi program entire. To those who insist that this boycott as inconsistent with his professions of friendliness with the British, Gandhi says, "If this is right—and I know that it is—Lancashire *in the end,* will be better off for the experiment." Be this as it may, war—any form of war—needs must cause more or less industrial and financial dislocation and it must be admitted that this man is right when he says that the non-violent method of fighting results in a minimum amount. A man of recognized ability and prestige—Pandit Motilal Nehru, who has just been released from serving a term in prison—said recently at a public meeting of the citizens of Allahabad:

> In the war in which we are engaged, we have chalked out an entirely new line. We fight with weapons unknown to history, and can have only our own mistakes to profit by. It is up to us to admit these mistakes freely and take steps to see that they are not repeated. In this matter Mahatma Gandhi has set us a noble example. . . . Most of the elements that make for success are present in our movement. There is no lack of men, there is no lack of willing sacrifice, there is no lack of public sympathy—and it is an admitted fact that no government, however strong, can withstand successful non-co-operation. . . .
>
> I have heard it said that the principle activities of the Congress have been abandoned and civil disobedience practically given up. But a little reflection will show that nothing of the kind has happened. . . . Civil disobedience was, is and shall be our strong and irresistible weapon to be used with full effect when the occasion arises. As in ordinary warfare with ordinary weapons, so also in our war with weapons peculiar to itself, one cannot use all weapons at all times. It will not do for instance to use a particular weapon against an opposing force unless that force is well within the range of that weapon. Nor will it do to bring your best and strongest weapon into action before it is properly tested and tried.[2] . . .
>
> We may have to adjust our sails to suit the varying winds, we may have to alter our course to avoid the shoals and breakers ahead, we may even have to drop anchor for a time to allow the gathering mists to clear up. But there can be no question of our altering our destination or changing the good ship we have chartered for the voyage. Our destination is full *Swaraj,* and the good ship which is to carry us to that destination is non-violent, non-co-operation. We cannot afford to leave this ship until we are actually in the harbor, and then only to get to the shore.

* * *

The vision of Mahatma Gandhi, however, cannot be grasped by everyone. Some are utterly unable, others are unwilling to use his weapons. Millions, undoubtedly, accept the weapons simply because the Master bids. The "intellectuals," many of them, stand aloof. To them Gandhi says, "We want you with us, but we can get *Swaraj* without you." His program is too humdrum for some of them who declare their preference for violent measures, which means throwing aside the weapon which has brought consternation to the opposition, only to take up the weapon which that opposition can both use and parry. For others, non-co-operation is too extreme. It demands a measure of self-sacrifice and self-discipline for which they are not ready. There is nothing left for them but co-operation with the government. Either one of these alternatives is fatal to the success of non-violent resistance, and both militate against the unity that is absolutely necessary if the vision of the great Indian seer is to be realized.

This vision is a national struggle won, and self-determinism achieved with the minimum of hatred, with no killing on the part of his "army," and without any of the spiritual deterioration that always follows in the wake of war. A nation embracing one-fifth of the population of the globe, started (by a great national victory) on the unaccustomed path of violence, Gandhi says, would be a calamity too awful to be contemplated,—equally disastrous to India, to the rulers she would be rid of, and most of all to the people of the world, in whom this great teacher would implant his vision of the new day. It is the vision that Lao-tze —the Chinese sage—gave to his people thousands of years ago; that Isaiah cherished in his heart; that Tolstoy put into the souls of the Russians; the vision that sustained Jesus on the cross. It is the vision of brotherhood that still persists after generations of ill-will. It is the vision of a world free of war, of hate, of revenge—a world filled with the love of truth, of justice, of good-will. It is the vision of a supremely great man who says:

> My goal is friendship with the world, and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong.

BLANCHE WATSON.

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[2]The Bombay *Chronicle* (June 30, 1922) reports the appointment of Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee which is to tour the Provinces with an idea to ascertaining where the people are ready for this final phase of the non-co-operation program—civil disobedience.

## THE STUDY TABLE

### "Creative Unity"

CREATIVE UNITY, by Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan Co.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is widely known as a poet and a Nobel-prizeman. His poetical works, *"Gitanjali,"* "Fruit Gathering," etc., are more familiar to the poet's admirers than his prose-writings, *"Sadhana"* (the Realization of Self), "Nationalism," etc. "Creative Unity" is the latest addition to his prose works, and by far the most important of all his writings so far translated into English. In this book the author treats various topics such as "The Poet's Religion," "The Creative Ideal," "East and West," "The Spirit of Freedom," "The Nation," etc.

In the very Introduction of the book the author gives the following expression of his creed of "creative unity":

> It costs me nothing to feel that I am; it is no burden to me. . . . . This One in me is creative. Its creations are a pastime, through which it gives expression to an ideal of unity in its endless show of variety. . . . . To give perfect expression to the One, the Infinite, through the harmony of the many; to the One, the Love, through the sacrifice of self, is the object alike of our individual life and our society.

There is no room for pessimism in life and there can never be anything really creative unless there is joy in life; and the author says:

> Life's tragedies occur, not to demonstrate their own reality, but to reveal that eternal principle of joy in life, to which they gave a rude shaking. It is the object of this Oneness in us to realize its infinity by perfect union of love with others. All obstacles to this union create misery, giving rise to the baser passions that are expressions of finitude, if that separateness which is negative. . . . . The joy of unity within ourselves, seeking expression, becomes creative; whereas our desire for fulfilment of our needs is constructive.

We are often told that poets and artists are somewhat impractical, should not be judged by the ordinary code of society, and should be given certain latitude for their actions. Thus we have poetic license and artistic frivolousness. But to Tagore the poet's mission is something quite different and he speaks of the poet's religion in the following way:

> Poetry and the arts cherish in them the profound faith of man in the unity of his being with all existence, the final truth of which is the truth of personality. It is a religion directly apprehended, and not a system of metaphysics to be analyzed and argued. . . . Beauty is no phantasy, it has the everlasting meaning of reality. The facts that cause despondence and gloom are mere mist, and when through the mist beauty breaks out in momentary gleams, we realize that Peace is true and not conflict, Love is true and not hatred; and Truth is the One, not the disjointed multitude. We realize that Creation is the perpetual harmony between the infinite ideal of perfection and the eternal continuity of its realization; that so long as there is no absolute separation between the positive ideal and the material obstacle to its attainment, we need not be afraid of suffering and loss. This is the poet's religion. (Pages 14-15.)

When this religion is realized in life, then comes the real illumination of real manhood. Society exists to afford the environment:

> Our society exists to remind us, through its various voices, that the ultimate truth in man is not in his intellect or his possessions; it is in his illumination of mind, in his extension of sympathy across all barriers of caste and color; in his recognition of the world, not merely as a storehouse of power, but as a habitation of man's spirit, with its eternal music of beauty and its inner light of divine presence. (P. 26.)

In Chapter 2, "The Religion of the Forest," the great philosopher sums up the need of knowledge of truth in the following way:

> And one truth of which he must be reminded, therefore, is that the power which accomplishes the miracle of creation, by bringing the conflicting forces into the harmony of the One, is no passion, but a love which accepts the bonds of self-control from the joy of its own immensity—a love whose sacrifice is the manifestation of its endless wealth within itself. (P. 63.)

The greatest achievement of Dr. Tagore is to be found in his unceasing efforts to bring the various members of the human family into comradeship. It is in this spirit that he discusses the burning problem of "East and West." He gives the most effective antidote to the ideas that are working for conflict instead of mutual understanding. Thus, he says:

> Today the real East remains unexplored. The blindness of contempt is more hopeless than the blindness of ignorance; for contempt kills the light which ignorance merely leaves unignited. The East is waiting to be understood by the Western races, in order not only to be able to give what is true in her, but also to be confident of her own mission. . . . .
>
> But the fact still remains that the Western mind, after centuries of contact with the East, has not evolved the enthusiasm of a chivalrous ideal which can bring this age to its fulfilment. It is everywhere raising thorny hedges of exclusion and offering human sacrifices to national self-seeking. It has intensified the mutual feelings of envy among Western races themselves, as they fight over their spoils and display a carnivorous pride in their snarling rows of teeth. . . . . The time has come when Europe must know that the forcible parasitism which she has been practicing upon the two large Continents of the world—the two most unwieldy whales of humanity—must be causing to her moral nature a gradual atrophy and degeneration. . . . . Possibly they believe that moral laws have a special domesticated breed of comfortable concessions for the service of the people in power. Possibly they ignore the fact that commercial and political cannibalism, profitably practiced upon foreign races, creeps back nearer home; that the cultivation of unwholesome appetites has its final reckoning with the stomach which has been made to serve it. For, after all, man is a spiritual being, and not a mere living money-bag jumping from profit to profit, and breaking the backbone of human races in its financial leapfrog. (101-104.)

In spite of the present condition of things for more than a century, and in spite of the efforts of poets and statesmen of the West to combine all the forces of western nations against the peoples of the East, Dr. Tagore believes that Kipling is wrong when he said, "East is east, and west is west, and never the twain shall meet." Dr. Tagore asserts:

> It is true that they are not yet showing any real sign of meeting. But the reason is because the West has not sent out its humanity to meet the man in the East, but only its machine. Therefore the poet's line has to be changed into something like this:
>
> Man is man, machine is machine,
> And never the twain shall wed. (Pages 105-106.)

Dr. Tagore deplores that the tendency of the modern age is somewhat barbaric because of the worship of force and the cult of power. "With the cult of power and his idolatry of money (man) has, in a great measure, reverted to his primitive barbarism, a barbarism whose path is lit up by the lurid light of intellect." (P. 117.)

In discussing the problems of present-day society, Dr. Tagore thinks there cannot be any peace on earth unless the attitude of the civilized nations is changed. No combination of strong powers will bring permanent peace. Only a change of heart, not only of nations but individuals, is essential, and he thinks the dis-

## THE FIELD

*"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"*

### MESSAGE TO THE CHURCHES AND CHRISTIANS OF ALL LANDS

From

**The Movement Towards a Christian International Met in Conference at Sonntagberg, Austria, August, 1922**

Brothers in Christ:

We who come from twenty countries and from many communions, Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Protestant, Established and Free, are moved to address you in the name of Christ and for the sake of distressed humanity.

Meeting in Central Europe, where the tragedy of a so-called Peace is almost greater than that of the World War, we see vividly the ghastly failure of war to advance the higher life of men.

How can the Church bring healing and harmony? By speaking the truth and by loving service.

Must not the Church call fearlessly for a policy of complete forgiveness towards enemies past and present?

Can we not now say that war of all kinds is contrary to the mind of Christ and that the follower of Jesus should never take any part in it? Would not a re-discovery of God as Jesus revealed Him, the Father loving every child and sending His sun and rain on just and unjust, lead to this conclusion? Such a re-discovery of God is needed to release men from fear and hatred and to set free the forces of goodwill, sympathy and hope.

A re-awakened Church could quickly lead the world to peace. If the Church would, with one voice, call her children to forgive, to love, to co-operate in daily life, to forswear all war, could any statesmen lead the peoples to slay one another?

Such a Church would win the respect and devotion of the masses and become their trusted leader in the creation of a new social order, because she would show that she really believed that the way of Jesus will work in this present world.

Brothers in Christ, why should we not humbly and bravely take this way now?

The Council of the movement issued the following Minute as an addition to the above message:

This Council, in considering the message to the Churches sent out by the Conference, desires to point out that one urgent step towards reconciliation in Europe would be the complete withdrawal of the Allied forces from the Rhineland.

Whatever reasons of policy or finance may be urged in its favor the continued occupation is a grave source of moral injury to all concerned and serves to maintain and increase suspicion and ill-will.

Signed on behalf of The Movement Towards a Christian International.

OLIVER DRYER,
*General Secretary.*

17 *Red Lion Square,*
*London, W.C.* 1.

The Movement Towards a Christian International believes that war, social injustice and every kind of evil can be overcome only by God's power of love, shown in Jesus, working through men and women. Its members seek to set up in the midst of the present alienation of nations, classes and individuals, a Christian family that cannot be divided. The movement is becoming world-wide. There are new groups, individuals or movements in the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Roumania, Russia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America.

### THE AUSTRALIAN CHURCH

19 Russell Street, Melbourne.

(Reprinted from the *Commonweal,* a Journal of Religious and Social Progress, edited by Rev. Dr. Charles Strong.)

When was the Australian Church founded?

In 1885.

What is the Basis of the Australian Church?

The spiritual nature of man as made for God, and unable to find rest until it rests in God as "Light," "Love," "Spirit," "Father," and the revelation of that nature and of the divine in man, through Christ Jesus and all Christlike souls.

What is the Bond of Fellowship in the Australian Church?

The "Christ-Ideal"—a spiritual and practical Ideal of Life as sonship and brotherhood in God, not dogmas miraculously given for all time—the United Aim and Effort to realize that Ideal in personal character; to bless and elevate mankind, and establish on earth the Kingdom of Truth, Beauty, Goodwill and its righteousness, not of letter and law but of spirit, liberty and love; to seek and save from the hells of ignorance, naturalism, materialism, animalism, selfishness, and despair, and inspire human lives with "faith, hope and love."

In what sense is the Australian Church a "catholic" Church?

In the sense that it embraces in its sympathy and welcomes into its fellowship all who are seeking to do the will of God, and who pray and work that the Kingdom of Love may come and the Divine Will of Love be done on earth.

What Makes Such a Church Necessary To-day?

---

torted ideal of greed is at the root of present-day confusion of society. He says:

Society suffers from a profound feeling of unhappiness, not so much when it is in material poverty as when its members are deprived of a large part of their humanity. (P. 117.)

He describes the lack of humanity in the present-day society in the following way:

The whole of the human world, throughout its length and breadth, has felt the gravitational pull of a giant planet of greed, with concentric rings of innumerable satellites, causing in our society a marked deviation from the moral orbit. In former times the intellectual and spiritual powers of the earth upheld their dignity of independence and were not giddily rocked on the tides of the money-market. But as in the last fatal stages of disease, this fatal influence of money has got into our brain and affected our heart. Like a usurper, it has occupied the throne of high social ideals, using every means, by menace and threat, to seize upon the right, and, tempted by opportunity, presuming to judge it. It has not only science for its ally, but other forces also that have some semblance of religion, such as nation-worship and the idealizing of organized selfishness. Its methods are far reaching and sure. Like the claws of a tiger's paws, they are softly sheathed. Its massacres are invisible, because they are fundamental, attacking the very roots of life. Its plunder is ruthless behind a scientific system of screens, which have the formal appearance of being open and responsible to inquiries. By white-washing its stains it keeps its respectability unblemished. It makes a liberal use of falsehood in diplomacy, only feeling embarrassed when its evidence is disclosed by others of the trade. An unscrupulous system of propaganda paves the way for widespread misrepresentation. It works up the crowd psychology through regulated hypnotic doses at repeated intervals, administered in bottles with moral labels upon them of soothing colors. In fact, man has been able to make his pursuit of power easier today by his art of mitigating the obstructive forces that come from the higher region of his humanity. (Pages 115-117.)

Modern civilization is passing through a very critical stage of nationalism which is something like a brain-disease. Nationalism is narrow selfishness; and it must pass to a higher stage, unselfishness. Nationalism has its place in social progress if it stands for the expression of the collective self-interest of a people without injuring others. But that is not the present tendency of nationalism, and Tagore says:

Selfishness in the individual is condemned, while in the nation it is extolled, which leads to hopeless moral blindness, confusing the religion of the people with the religion of the nation. Therefore, to take an example, we find men more convinced of the superior claims of Christianity, merely because Christian nations are in possession of the greater part of the world. It is like supporting a robber's religion by quoting the amount of his stolen property. Nations celebrate their successful massacre of men in their churches. . . . (P. 144.)

Tagore sees the possibility of a newer social order and this will come with a newer ideal of education, and concludes:

Its aim should lie in imparting life-breath to the complete man, who is intellectual as well as economic, bound by social bonds, but aspiring towards spiritual freedom and final perfection. (P. 195.)

TARAKNATH DAS.

The growth of science, study of the Bible and history, the democratic spirit of the age, the recognition of evolution as the law of life, larger faith and hope in God and in love as the "eternal life" of God and man, and the insistence by the old churches on the acceptance of dogmatic and final, theological and historical creeds and confessions—to be received on miraculous authority of Priest or Book, as being "essential to salvation" from a primeval curse, and from a miraculous hell in a future state, and admission to a miraculous heaven—things no longer believable nor believed by an increasing number of Christians.

Does the Australian Church Seek to Be a New Sect?

No; its aim is to lead the way to the abolition of sects, with all their bitterness and unbrotherliness and hindrance to religious life and progress, and to promote "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." It seeks not to destroy merely, but to fulfil.


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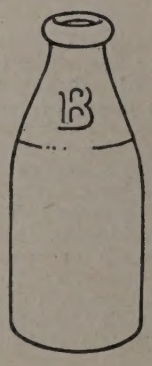

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